THE WORKERS'

DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism.

Vol. V.—No. 45 SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 1st, 1919 Price Twopence.

PORT OF LONDON WORKERS STRIKE FOR 15s. AND —?

The River Thames Shop Stewards' Committee was formed only thirteen weeks ago. To-day it has enrolled 12,000 members and has brought out the shipbuilders and repairers of the Port of London.

On Sunday, January 12th, as J. T. reported in THE DREADNOUGHT a fortnight ago, the shop stewards called a Mass Meeting at Poplar Hippodrome, where it was decided, by 1,008 votes to 534, that unless the employers would agree to a 15*s.* weekly increase in wages a strike should be called.

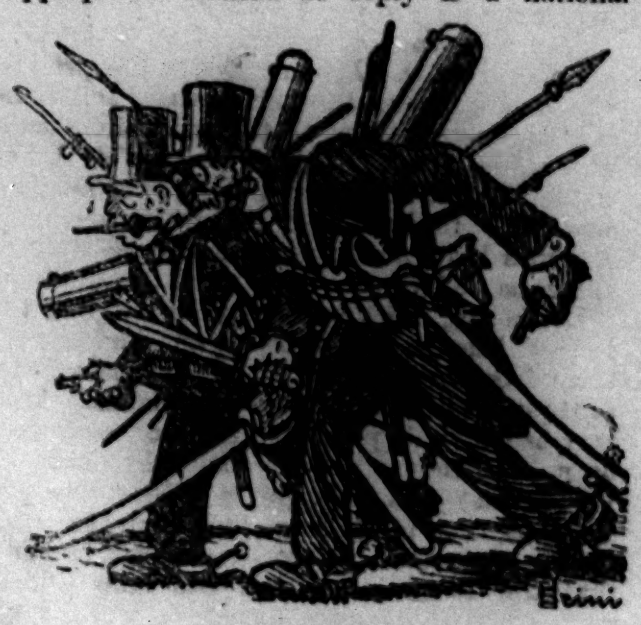
On January 26th a second mass meeting was called. The Hippodrome, which normally holds 5,000 people, contained 8,000, and the scenery had to be cleared off the stage in order that the men might crowd in there. There was so much excitement that Comrade Brown, the Chairman, had a struggle to make himself heard.

The official trade union element fought hard against the down tools policy. Putnam, the Chairman of the Joint Standing Committee of Allied Shipping Trades (the official trade union committee), reported that on the morning after the last meeting had decided to down tools if the 15*s.* were not forthcoming his committee had approached the employers, asking them to re-discuss the 15*s.* increase and to reconsider their refusal to grant it. The employers had received the Joint Standing Committee on Thursday, January 16th. The employers had been strongly represented at that meeting. It was obvious to the Joint Standing Committee that the Port of London workers had to face, not merely the Port of London employers, but all the shipbuilding and ship-repairing employers of the country organised on a national basis. The Joint Standing Committee recognised this, and now its representatives were reporting it to the rank and file, yet the Joint Standing Committee decided to recommend to the workers not action on a national basis taken in concert with the workers in all parts of the country but a purely sectional policy. The employers briefly set aside the 15*s.* application, saying that the workers must be content with the findings of the Wages Board which caters nationally for their industry. The Joint Standing Committee again met the employers on Tuesday, January 21st, and extracted from them a promise to consider a new wage flat rate, in substitution for the pre-war flat rate and war advances at present obtaining. This of course does not necessarily mean any increase in wages.

Putnam stated further that the Joint Standing Committee recommended that, in the event of the meeting deciding upon a down tools policy, the district committees should pay strike benefit, but he pointed out that many district committees have not the power to adopt this course unless it has been sanctioned by the National Executive Committees of the Trade Unions concerned. Therefore, if a down tools policy were adopted some men, the great majority as a matter of fact, would get no strike pay. Putnam said he would not suggest that the question of strike pay would influence the decision of that meeting; but he added that his committee had decided to recommend, instead of an immediate strike, the taking of a ballot vote of all the trades concerned. At this there were shouts of "No," and constant interruptions thereafter made it difficult for him to proceed. He declared that there was chaos amongst the workers, and that many were saying they would remain at work whatever the decision of that meeting might be; and that unless to-day's vote were more representative of the general opinion than the vote of a fortnight ago, the workers would be beaten at the start. "Cast aside the glamour of a mass meeting," he urged, "look at the facts in all their brutal nakedness: if you are going to jump—jump, but, for God's sake, look where you are jumping."

Sam Bradley of the A.S.E. and Joint Standing Committee supported the ballot proposal, and, in doing so, strongly opposed the strike. "Where can you find conditions so good, or hours so short," he said, "as in the Port of London? Where else are the workers able to frame so good a port circular?" Though many voices shouted disapproval, he declared that, having had the opportunity of discussion with the employers, he was going to put their point of view whether the workers liked it or not: they were living in an age of competition; business would leave the Port of London if in other ports work could be done more cheaply, because hours of labour were longer and wages lower.

A very dangerous doctrine that, Mr. Bradley; a very out-of-date and fallacious one, one that in the old days which will never return, again and again induced the workers to allow themselves to be pitted against each other to their general loss. Men showed what they thought of the doctrine by crying out: "We are not scabs!" But Bradley continued, urging that the employers have machinery to divert work that would otherwise come to London. The workers, he said, were unable to cope with such action. He seemed incapable of realising that the appropriate method of reply is a national



ITALY AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE.
Reprinted from the *Avanti*.

sympathetic strike of dockyard workers.

Again he was answered: "If you stay at work, you will be blacklegging the Clyde to-morrow!" Yes, if the London workers had not decided to strike the employers would have

(continued on page 1210).

PROGRAM OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENT.

"We declare in the words of the Irish Republican Proclamation the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland, and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies to be indefeasible, and in the language of our first President, Padraig Macpiarais, we declare that the nation's sovereignty extends not only to all men and women of the nation, but to all its material possessions; the nation's soil and all its resources, all the wealth and all the wealth-producing processes within the nation, and with him we re-affirm that all rights to private property must be subordinated to the public right and welfare.

We declare that we desire our country to be ruled in accordance with the principles of Liberty, Equality, and Justice for all, which alone can secure permanence of government in the willing adhesion of the people.

We affirm the duty of every man and woman to give allegiance and service to the Commonwealth, and declare it is the duty of the nation to assure that every citizen shall have opportunity to spend his or her strength and faculties in the service of the people. In return for willing service we, in the name of the Republic, declare the right of every citizen to an adequate share of the produce of the nation's labour.

It shall be the first duty of the Government of the Republic to make provision for the physical, mental, and spiritual well-being of the children, to secure that no child shall suffer hunger or cold from lack of food, or clothing, or shelter, but that all shall be provided with the means and facilities requisite for their proper education and training as citizens of a free and Gaelic Ireland.

The Irish Republic fully realises the necessity of abolishing the present odious, degrading, and foreign Poor Law system, substituting therefor a sympathetic native scheme for the care of the nation's aged and infirm, who shall no longer be regarded as a burden, but rather entitled to the nation's gratitude and consideration. Likewise it shall be the duty of the Republic to take measures as will safeguard the health of the people and ensure the physical as well as the moral well-being of the Nation.

It shall be our duty to promote the development of the nation's resources, to increase the productivity of the soil, to exploit its mineral deposits, peat bogs, and fisheries, its waterways and harbours, in the interest and for the benefit of the Irish people.

It shall be the duty of the Republic to adopt all measures necessary for the recreation and invigoration of our industries, and to ensure their being developed on the most beneficial and progressive co-operative industrial lines. With the adoption of an extensive Irish Consular Service, trade with foreign nations shall be revived on terms of mutual advantage and goodwill, while undertaking the organisation of the nation's trade, import and export; it shall be the duty of the Republic to prevent the shipment from Ireland of food and other necessaries, until the wants of the Irish people are fully satisfied and the future provided for.

It shall devolve upon the National Government to seek co-operation of the governments of other countries in determining a standard of social and industrial legislation with a view to a general and lasting improvement in the conditions under which the working classes live and labour."

ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.

BETWEEN OURSELVES. By L. A. Motler.

I see, Henry, that you are pretty firm about making the Huns pay: now that their little rip to Paris has proved a misfire, we are about o present them with a little bill. And we have an army of occupation to see they fork out with some of that German gold we heard so much about.

I want you to notice the "we." When you read that "we" have won the war, it is just as well to remember that it doesn't mean Lloyd George or Lord Northcliffe. Nor does it mean Cohen and Wilks.

It is supposed to mean the British nation as a whole. It is taken to mean that the British nation ran the war, carried it on and won it. The British nation paid for it, too. But, may I ask, WHOM did we pay?

And if *we* are going to make the Huns pay, WHOM are they to pay?

You will say, of course, that it is quite simple. Pay the Belgian people the price of the damage done to their houses, fields and other property. Now that seems plain enough. But who are the "Belgian people"? I had not heard that Belgium belonged to the Belgians just yet. In fact, if I am not wrong, the Belgians have pretty much the same state of things as we have.

In the big cities and towns of Belgium the houses belong to landlords or landowners: the mines and factories belong to landowners, or capitalists or other kind of financiers. Anyway one thing is plain, the Belgian *people* own as much Belgium as you do of that heap of bricks you call a back garden. Now that the Belgians are being imported back to *their* native land, I do not for a moment imagine that the Belgian landlords will stop asking rent, or that Belgian financiers will be so forgetful as to overlook their thirty per cent dividends. No doubt whilst they were taking all war-risks in the sunny port of Torquay, in their pretty villas, they were adding up that little sum "we" mean to get from the Huns. It is bad enough to have to leave one's native country—and factory—behind, without counting all the war profits that would have been made.

The vineyards of Champagne are now back in French hands: but by now, Henry, you will be doubtful as to the kind of "peasant" who will now *own* the property. I should not be surprised if you found the real "owners" at Nice or Biarritz. Or perhaps at the Opera Comique.

It is certain, however, that the poor people who suffered the most from the air raids over the East End will get very little of the indemnity, since the greater part of their property was a few sticks of furniture. They didn't own the houses it was so hard to get the landlord to repair, or to keep from falling to pieces by putting on fresh wallpaper.

And in Sunny Southend by the sea, I hear the landlords are selling the houses over the heads of the present tenants. But that is all good business and the law cannot say them nay.

Of course you will remember that just before the election we were promised a million or so new houses. But you cannot build houses out of promises and land is about £300 an acre (*Star*, Jan. 23, 1919).

Nevertheless, the houses are there. There are plenty of big houses and hotels in the West End that cannot be said to be the least little bit overcrowded. When my lord goes out of town to his country seat, the town house is "closed" and my lord's housemaids (of the working class) carefully cover my lord's furniture up so that the nasty dust won't get at them.

There are churches, halls, chapels—in fact there is no lack of buildings. There are also free seats on the Embankment at all hours, and in the parks in the daytime.

And when the Government felt short of room in which to swing the office cat about, they had a look round the West End and the City. Now the Government does not consist of working-class people. Consequently, the Government was not too modest in its demands. It gave the big firms notice to clear out. The said big firms protested; the hotel loungers looked worried. But a Government is one of the strongest trade-unions going—and it knows it. So they took over the hotels and the big business houses, and the office cat was laid down in front of a nice fire with a few thousand typists to keep it company when they were not otherwise engaged reading Charles Garvice or knitting short shirts for soldiers.

So now you know, Henry. As I said the houses are there, the hotels are there. And don't forget it was the working class that built them. It would be sheer madness of the workers to build more houses and present them to a few landlords as an addition to their incomes. At any rate it would be madness to build any now, on the same principles that the rest of them have been built. A landlord will let the Building Trade Union erect some kind of hash of bricks and mortar in Spitalfields; but the landlord will take good care not to live in one of them himself. Which shows he is a wise landlord—and does not belong to the working class.

You and your mates, Henry, are beginning to find out who has won the war—and for whom. So you are presently going on strike in order to get a bit out of it, and to work less hours. The miners I see are asking for forty hours and the same pay. And I did read somewhere that the Clyde men want ten hours less and five pounds a week.

Now all these are good ideas. Working thirty hours a week on five golden quidlets is something like being a man and less a "hand." All I wish to ask is what are you going to do with the other 138 hours in the week? Are you going to spend them playing shove halfpenny in the "Spotted Pig" or at the Empire Music Hall or the Union Jack Cinema?

And when you are tired of the "Spotted Pig" and the vaudeville and the pictures, are you going to stay in your bit of brick and mortar and ride pick-a-back with young Henry down the street?

Or do you fancy a nice little cottage in a nice little lane with a nice little garden that grows something else besides broken bricks and tomato cans? And perhaps a few chicks for eggs and a cow for milk and maybe a rabbit hutch for wee Henry?

And a motor car or an aeroplane for business or pleasure? A little run to town to do the needful share of work and then back to the fields for the next harvest?

"And now," you will say, Henry, with a pleasant smile, "this is where you wake up."

Not at all. This is where you wake up. And begin getting it done.

POLICE PROTEST.

Ex-Inspector Syme and ex-P.C. Herbert (of Y Division Metro. Police) propose to address a meeting in Trafalgar Square on Sunday next, February 2nd at 3 P.M., demanding their reinstatement in the Police Service: the release from Canterbury Prison of ex-P.C. John Wilkinson, the Assistant-Secretary of the National Union of Police and Prison Officers: and an inquiry into the conduct of the Home Office, and New Scotland Yard with respect to police and other matters during the war.

Ex-P.C. Herbert has been released from Wandsworth Prison on 28 days' probation after 7 days' hunger strike. He has been thrice sentenced by court-martial and has served 2 years and 4 months as a conscientious objector, having refused to join the Army after being dismissed from the Police Service. He was an advocate of the Police Union. Ex-P.C. Wilkinson has also been thrice sentenced and has now been imprisoned over 2 years.

It is hoped that all friends who can, will be present to support Ex-Inspector Syme, Ex-P.C. Herbert and the other speakers.

Ex-Inspector Syme has now been fighting for nine years to obtain justice in freedom-loving England. What has the Police Union to say?

BRITISH SOCIALIST PARTY.

HANDS OFF RUSSIA!

Socialist Demonstration

IN THE

ALBERT HALL

TO DEMAND THE IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL ALLIED TROOPS FROM RUSSIA AND THE RAISING OF THE ECONOMIC BLOCKADE

On Saturday, February 8th.

Speakers—

GEORGE LANSBURY, JOHN MACLEAN, V. McENTEE, NEIL McLEAN, M.P., CATHAL O'SHANNON (Irish Transport Workers), **SYLVIA PANKHURST, W. F. WATSON, R. C. WALLHEAD, LADY WARWICK, ISRAEL ZANGWILL.**

Chairman - - E. C. FAIRCHILD.

The Russian Violinist, EDWARD SOERMUS, will play.

DOORS OPEN 6.45 p.m. **Music from 7.15 to 7.40.** **Chair taken 7.45.**
No Seats reserved after 7.10.

ADMISSION FREE: by ticket only, obtainable from ALBERT INKPIN, General Secretary, B.S.P., 21a Maiden Lane, Strand, W.C.2.

No charge is made for tickets, but contributions towards the cost of the meeting will be cordially appreciated. Stewards and Literature Sellers urgently required.

READ "THE CALL," The Internationalist Socialist Weekly, THURSDAYS, TWOPENCE.

THE "HANDS OFF RUSSIA" CONFERENCE.

OFFICIAL REPORT.

It is generally agreed on all sides that the H.O.R. Conference convened by the London Workers' Committee in conjunction with the I.W.W., S.L.P. and B.S.P., and held in the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, London, E.C., on January 18th, was an unqualified success.

The Library was full, there being some 350 delegates present all of whom were determined that Allied Intervention in Russia must cease. The only difference of opinion was, as to the method to be adopted to compel the Internationalist Capitalists to remove their "thieving hands" from the first Socialist Republic. Even on this point the General Strike was agreed upon, but some delegates thought we should declare the strike at once, whilst others were of the opinion that no date should be fixed, but that we should commence to organise our Industrial forces in readiness. A very significant point is the fact that the amendment asking the Government to cease intervening was ignominiously defeated showing that the delegates recognised the intentions of the Government.

The Conference opened at 11 o'clock with W. F. Watson, President of London Workers' Committee in the chair who, referring to the murder of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, said in effect that although their bodies were dead their spirits lived and the best way in which we could commemorate their deaths was to carry on their work. He asked the delegates to stand whilst Soermus played the Russian Revolutionary Funeral March. Soermus prefaced his playing by a few apt remarks, and his rendering of the March and the way it was received by the delegates is an incident that will always be remembered by those present. The following were then elected as the Standing Orders Committee: W. Paul (S.L.P.), A. Grainger (I.W.W.), D. Ramsay (N.A.C. Workers' Committee), S. Wakeling (A.I.M.), and C. T. Pendery (Arsenal S.S.C.).

The Secretary then gave in his report and read a large number of letters (including a long one from John Maclean) from various organisations, showing that it was only lack of funds that prevented the conference being at least twice as big. The next item was the Chairman's Address.

W. F. Watson referred to the lying reports which appear in the press quoting some of them, together with extracts from letters from people who have just left Russia who say that there is no real disorder in Russia. He stated that those who were responsible for the Conference were determined to carry on the agitation until the troops were withdrawn from Russia. He emphasised the fact that the only reason for intervention was, that the International Capitalists were determined to crush the Bolshevik administration because of their financial interests in Russia. We must not only save the Revolution in Russia, but we must also bring about our own revolution in this country.

David Ramsay, reporting on behalf of the S.O.C., said that several resolutions had been submitted from which the following had been drafted as a basis of discussion:—

> This Rank and File Conference of delegates from British and Irish Labour and Socialist organisations hereby resolves to declare a general strike—and to adopt every method of agitation upon every field of social activity—to begin on (date to be fixed by the conference), unless by that date the immediate and unconditional cessation of Allied Intervention in Russia—either directly by force of arms, or indirectly by an economic blockade by supplying arms, money, or by other sinister means, to internal opponents of the Bolshevik administration—shall have been officially announced, and to continue the strike and agitation until the desired announcement shall have been made, and until we are satisfied of the truth of the announcement.

The Standing Orders Committee suggested that the mover of a resolution should be allowed 15 minutes, of an amendment 10 minutes, seconders and other speakers five minutes each. The report was adopted. The resolution was then moved by H. Pollitt (Boilermakers), representing Openshaw B.S.P. who pleaded for strong quick action urging the delegates to get into touch with the big organisations such as the Miners, Railwaymen and Transport Workers. The resolution was seconded by R. Barker of the Herald League.

An amendment was moved by T. L. Smith, Workers International Industrial Union, Glasgow, and seconded by A. MacManus, Clyde Workers' Committee to which an addendum was moved by Sylvia Pankhurst to the effect that we also demand the withdrawal of troops from Germany. After a long and interesting discussion the following was adopted by an overwhelming majority:—

> This rank and file Conference of delegates from British and Irish Labour and Socialist organisations hereby resolve to carry on an active agitation upon every field of activity to solidify the Labour movement in Great Britain for the purpose of declaring at a further conference to be convened for the purpose, a general strike unless before the date of that conference the unconditional cessation of Allied intervention in Russia—either directly by the force of arms, indirectly by an economic blockade by supplying arms or money to the internal opponents of the Bolshevists, or by any other sinister means endeavouring to crush the Bolshevik administration—shall have been officially announced and to continue the strike and agitation until the desired announcement shall have been made, until we are satisfied as to the truth of the announcement, and until the Allied attack on the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils in Germany are stopped, the blockade of Germany raised and the Allied troops withdrawn.

A committee of fifteen was elected from London and District to carry on the organising work, with T. F. Knight as convener. A further resolution was adopted demanding facilities from the Government to enable delegates to proceed to Russia to obtain first hand knowledge of the internal conditions.

The following is a list of organisations represented:—

Trade Unions.

A.S.E.—Branches: Willesden 2nd, Woolwich 7th, Coventry 9th, Acton, Acton 2nd, Tottenham, Lewisham, Paddington, Clapham, Sheffield 9th, Sheffield 14th, Belvedere 2nd, Hammersmith, Walthamstow 4th, Lambeth, District Committees: London, Rugby.

Amalgamated Instrument Makers.—London District Committee and Plumstead, Finsbury Park, and No. 5 Branches.

Workers' Union.—Branches: Willesden, Bedford No. 1 and Holloway.

National Union of Railwaymen.—Branches: Bury No. 4, Derby, Finsbury No. 1, Paddington, Paddington 2nd, Glasgow 44, and the Bishop Auckland District Council.

National Association of Furnishing Trades.—Branches: 15, 63, 141, 125 and Hendon.

L.P.U.L. Vehicle Workers.—The Executive Council and Battersea Branch.

Society of Amalgamated Toolmakers.—Branches: Crayford, Kentish Town, Wood Green, Bedford, Walthamstow, 2nd and London District Committee.

United Machine Workers Association.—Abbey Wood, Gorton, and No. 131 Branches.

Electrical Trade Union.—London West and Sheffield Central Branches.

The London Tailors; United Ladies Tailors; Bwllfa and Windber Collieries South Wales Joint Committee; London Jewish Butchers; London Packing Case Makers; Steam Engine Makers, London District Committee.

Industrial Organisations.

I.W.W. Locals.—Battersea, Chatham, Coventry, Manchester, Plymouth, Newport (Mon.), Liverpool, E. London and Central.

Workers' International Industrial Union (Glasgow).—Building Workers' Industrial Union.

Shop Stewards' and Workers' Committees.—London Workers' Committee, Luton District Committee S.S., Barrow-in-Furness S.S.C., Woolwich Arsenal S.S.C., Clyde Workers' Com., W. R. & R. G. Jacobs S.S.C. Coventry Workers' Com., Erith and District S.S.C., Sheffield Workers' Com., Southampton S.S.C., West London Engineering Workers' Com., Adam & Grimaldi's S.S.C., The Periscopic S.S.C., N.W. London Federation of S.S.C., London and District Council of S.S. and W.C., N.A.C., S.S. and W.C.

* * *

Trade Councils.—Walthamstow, Birmingham, Southall, Ealing, Wimbledon.

I.L.P.—Branches: Woolwich, St. Pancras, Bow and Bromley, Battersea, City of London, S. Shields, London Divisional Council, N. Kensington, Tottenham, Bedlington, Kensal Rise, Armfield Plain, Stapleford, King's Norton, Glasgow, Hackney.

Socialist Labour Party.—Manchester, Falkirk, Halifax, Leeds, London Divisional Council, Carlisle, Birmingham, S. Shields, Peckham.

B.S.P.—Southend, The Executive, S. Islington, West London Jewish, Plymouth, Southwark, Openshaw, Tooting, Bethnal Green, Bow and Bromley, East London Jewish, Centra..

Herald League.—Branches: Battersea, North London, Croydon, Fulham, Stepney.

No Conscription Fellowship.—Southend, Forest Gate, Tottenham, Russian Anti-Conscription League, Walthamstow and Leyton.

National Council of Civil Liberties.—N. London Branch, Woolwich Council.

Workers' Socialist Federation.—Executive, Bow, Camberwell, Poplar, Stepney.

Labour Parties.—Woolwich and District, Twickenham, Hammersmith, Central.

Women's Co-operative Guilds.—W. Hampstead, Enfield Town Council, Edmonton.

Plebs League (Fleetwood), W. London League of the Blind, Lithuanian Socialist Society, Willesden Freedom League, Russian Political Emigrants Communist Club, Catholic Crusade, The Socialist Party of Ireland, Central Freedom Group, Russian Freedom Committee.

The mass meeting held in the evening was also a great success. Not only were the big hall and the Library packed, but the Board Room, which the hallkeeper was good enough to let us have, was full to overflowing. We had heard that an organised attempt would be made to smash the meeting, so we made the necessary arrangements, and its a good job the smashers thought better of it. They would certainly have "copped out." The spirit of the meeting was great, and the speakers worked like Trojans to keep the meetings supplied. Soermus was in form and enchanted and inspired the audiences with his violin.

It was a red letter day in working-class history, marking another step towards the smash up of the vile capitalist system. The committee has commenced intensive propaganda, and ere long another conference will be convened when it is hoped that a definite date will be fixed for taking action. In the meantime every worker is urged to help in every way possible. Get the matter discussed in your branch and workshop. Form "Hands off Russia" Committees in every locality. Organise mass meetings everywhere. The London Committee is prepared to undertake the running of meetings in the provincial towns if the local comrades will take the initiative. So Comrades, get busy, and show the powers that be that you are determined not only to end intervention in Russia but to end Capitalism in this country. GET READY TO STRIKE.

ALL SOCIALISTS SHOULD SUPPORT

"THE SPUR"

Because the Workers need a Spur.

Edited during G. ALDRED's Imprisonment by ROSE WITCOP.
Cartooned by "KRITIKOS."

The Enemy of Every God. The Foe of Every King. Files only the Red Flag.

TWOPENCE MONTHLY. ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION 2s. 6d.
Twenty-Six Copies, post free, 3s. Write for pamphlets.

LONDON ADDRESS: 17 Richmond Gardens, Shepherd's Bush, W.12

GERMAN ELECTION RESULTS.

BASEL, Jan. 27.—A telegram from Berlin announces that the final amended results of the elections to the German National Assembly have now been ascertained. They are as follows:—

Majority Socialists	165
Christian People's Party (Centre) ..	91
German Democratic Party	75
German National People's Party (Conservatives)	38
German People's Party (National Liberals)	22
Independent Socialists	22
Various other parties	8
Total	421

—*Reuter.*

The returns show that the German people desire Socialism, but do not yet know which group will give it to them.

HELP WANTED!

At the offices of the Workers Socialist Federation at 400, Old Ford Road, E. (No. 8 bus brings you close to the door), the ceilings are falling in and the water is pouring through. The hall used by the W.S.F. and other societies needs a damp course. Applications to the landlord have produced no result. A member of the E.T.U. and I.W.W. living in Croydon, visited our premises and advised us to appeal to comrades of the movement to do the work for us. He told us that comrades in the movement are fitting up Ruskin Hall, Croydon, with electric light, &c. Will the East London workers come forward?

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

EDITOR: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

Published by the Workers' Socialist Federation

Telephone; EAST 1787.

Annual Subscription - Post Free, 10s. 10d.

Back Numbers, 4½d, post free.

MSS. should be addressed to the Editor at 400, Old Ford Road, London, E.3

All business communications to the MANAGER, 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.

Vol. V., No. 45. Sat., February 1st, 1919.

LIGHT ON THE HORIZON.

The General Strike at Last.

Nationalist Ireland has set up its independent Sinn Fein Parliament in Dublin, but something which may prove even more important has happened in Belfast. The general strike, never hitherto known in this country, has begun there. The workers there have started a movement which contains within itself the capacity to establish the Soviets in Britain. The general strike whether entered on to secure a 44-hour week, as in Belfast, a 40-hour week as in Glasgow, or a mere wages advance such as the London workers are demanding, is the most educative of all weapons, because it reveals to the workers their own limitless power. Nothing can crush the general strike if the workers remain solid, for remember that soldiers, sailors, and policemen are also workers and no violence can be used towards industrial strikers without their permission.

In Belfast the general strike has not been started by the simultaneous agreement of all trades. It has been caused by the striking of the shipyard workers and engineers, which has put a stop to work in other industries. When electrical power became the basis of most industrial activities, the power to cause a general stoppage of industry became vested in the electrical workers, and fortune decided that, instead of being a backward group like the compositors, the electrical workers should be leaders of thought in the industrial world, a large proportion of them keen, well-informed, thoughtful, revolutionary Socialists, alive to the possibilities within their grasp and determined to make use of them.

In Belfast the stoppage of gas and electricity is causing the people to suffer from darkness, cold, and unemployment. These hardships will spread, as the strike spreads, to other centres. Let the workers enlarge their demands in order that the result may be more than worthy of the sacrifices involved. Capitalism is built upon the principle of competition, whilst it continues, the workers, with increasing frequency, will be forced to defend their subsistence by the terrible weapon of the strike, a weapon most harsh in its effect upon themselves. Whilst Capitalism remains there is always menacing the worker the possibility of unemployment, which entails all the miseries of the strike without its heroic and hopeful character.

The foremost spirits leading the strike for reduced hours are hoping to set going a movement which shall not end till the workers have secured the complete control of industry, and till an industrial council of workers' delegates shall have replaced the present Parliament. But, even assuming that events should not move to this end in unbroken sequence, even assuming that the objects of the strike remain confined to the reduction of hours, the object is worthy of all effort and all sacrifice—for the reduction of working hours will stop the unemployment now facing masses of workers; it will enable the soldiers to find work on demobilisation. Moreover, a shorter working day gives the workers time to think, time to educate and organise. We hope that the workers may find themselves ready before the strike ends to aim at a wider power, but, in any case, the strike for reduced hours is of vital importance. The London shipyard workers who are striking for a 15*s.* weekly increase, should at once adopt also the demand for shorter hours. With Belfast, the Clyde, and other centres, they should come into line with the miners for 30 hours. The workers automatically thrown out of employment by the stoppage of other trades, should adopt the strikers' demands, and insist on obtaining them for themselves.

The present strikes are clearly revealing that the official Trade Union Movement is superseded. In the Port of London the demand for a 15*s.* increase was actually started by the official body, the Joint Standing Allied Trades Committee; when this Committee's negotiations produced no result, it consulted the shop stewards. The shop stewards replied that they were ready for a strike, but though the Joint Standing Committee at first agreed, it opposed the strike when, the threat of a strike having failed, the moment to strike actually arrived. Most of the strikers will get no strike pay because the executives refuse it or their rules prevent it, and the existence of D.O.R.A. is said to develop a tendency to strain the rules. Though the members of the Joint Standing Committee express their sympathy with the strike, they protest that "important" duties prevent them joining the shop stewards in the work of picketing and organisation. In Scotland the District Committee of the A.S.E., the Clyde District Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades Federation, the Glasgow Trades Council, and the Parliamentary Committee of the Scottish Trade Union Congress are supporting the strike; but whilst the Clyde, Leith, and Edinburgh are striking for a 40-hour week, the National Executives of the trades concerned are negotiating at the Ministry of Labour for a 47-hour week and have actually stated that the members of their unions are prepared to accept it. In the meantime the workers get no strike pay. The withholding by Executives of strike funds amassed by the sacrifices of the workers is now the commonly observed rule. It is strange that the workers tolerate the scandal and that they continue giving financial support to the official organisation.

Trade union officialdom is becoming a mere parasite on the workers' movement. The trade union officials have been moulded by their conditions. They were the servants of a little co-ordinated rank and file that scarcely gave them instructions, and was not always to be counted on to back up their decisions. Being largely without power, official trade unionism has usually fallen back on a diplomacy of bluff and surrender. How much longer will the workers maintain an official organisation which is often an active hindrance, seldom a vital help to them in their struggles?

As strike movements spread and become more revolutionary, the official organisations and the question of strike pay recede into the background. The Russian revolution, the culminating point of a general strike, was achieved without strike pay. Strike pay is no longer required in Socialist Russia.

The British Transport Workers are also demanding a 44-hour week, but, so far, they are negotiating for it through the Ministry of Labour, instead of joining the engineers and shipbuilders in the strike. Labour has not yet achieved general solidarity, but the day of the general strike throughout Britain will shortly arrive.

Bristol Dockers Refuse to Aid War on Russia.

One of the most significant things that has happened of late is the refusal of the Bristol Dockers to load a ship which was to be sent to Russia with military stores. This action was taken as a protest against the Allied intervention in Russia. The Allied attack on Socialist Russia would be stopped at once if all Allied workers would adopt the same action.

The Paris Transport Strike.

On January 24th Paris workers on the tubes, trams, and 'buses struck work. The Metropolitan Railway workers demanded:—

1. Guaranteed employment.
2. An 8-hour day.
3. A wage increase of 2 francs a day from January 1st, 1919.
4. A yearly holiday with full wages of 21 days.
5. A pension of £80 after 20 years' service.
6 For temporary workers an indemnity on dismissal equal to that paid by the Municipality of Paris.
7. Three francs a day bonus from October 15th, 1917, to July 1st, 1918.
8. For workers under 18 years 150 francs a month from July 1st, 1918, in lieu of the 3 francs a day then granted to adults.

These things they declare to be absolutely essential to the maintenance of a bare standard of elementary comfort. The tram and 'bus workers demanded amongst other things pensions and Government control of the companies' profits.

The employers replied that they could not discuss the 8-hour day, as that question would be decided at the Peace Conference. The reply is significant. It shows that employers of Labour, in France at least, seriously mean to claim that the machinery of the League of Nations shall be placed at their disposal in settling industrial disputes.

As soon as the negotiations between employers and employed had broken down and the strike had begun, the French Government stepped in and requisitioned the Metropolitan and North-South Railways and the tramways and omnibuses of Paris and the Department of the Seine. Notices were posted that all provisionally demobilised men who remained away from work would receive orders to rejoin *their regiments forthwith.*

The workers immediately returned to work, quietly and without visible protest.

British newspapers announced that the strike had been broken by the Government's use of conscription, as Briand broke the French railway strike of 1910. But in 1910 Briand did not commandeer the railways, he merely mobilised the soldiers, and told them that, as soldiers, they must obey military orders to return to work on the railways. Public opinion has developed during the last nine years, or, rather, working-class opinion has developed, and is making itself more insistently felt in the general sum of what is called "public opinion." Therefore things cannot be done now just as they were in 1910. Governments that threaten the workers with military coercion must therefore make at least some show of controlling employers also. We saw this when the Munitions Act was brought into being, but we also saw the Act bearing very heavily upon the workers, on the employers but lightly.

In France, it appears from Longuet's paper, *Le Populaire*, the Government's action was received as a victory for the strikers. At the strike meetings held to discuss the position—where the women strikers, more numerous than the men, had decorated their caps with a wild rose as an emblem of revolution—the speakers, Raoul and Jaccoud, expressed great satisfaction with the course of events and urged a return to work. This resolution was adopted:—

"The employees of the Metropolitan and North-South railways, and the omnibus and tramway companies on strike, after having heard the result of the steps taken and cognisant of the decree requisitioning the material and personnel of the companies, decide to respond to the requisition, it being understood that negotiations will immediately commence with the Companies, or the Government which takes their place. The workers maintain their demands and rely on their officials to defend their interests. The workers declare that they are ready to meet any situation which may arise."

The workers most vigorously expressed their determination to resume the strike if their demands are not swiftly conceded.

Therefore, it is plain that the French transport workers are not abjectly beaten as has been pretended. We do not think they will get any concessions from the Government which they

LIGHT ON THE HORIZON continued.

could not as easily have wrung from their employers. On the contrary, the force against which they will have to contend will be much stronger. Unless the Government has made up its mind to concede the strikers' demands, which we do not anticipate, a very serious struggle is likely to develop. This is of tremendous importance to British workers, not only because the fortunes of the workers are internationally interwoven, but because conscription may be used against the workers in this country also at any time. It is probable that, even as we write, the question of employing it in Belfast, on the Clyde, and in the London docks, is actually being discussed by the Government. Indeed, the power of conscription may be brought into operation against the strikers here at any moment.

The Peace Conference and Russia.

The delegates who are supposed to represent the peoples of the five Great Powers at the Peace Conference (and who have decided that they *are* the Peace Conference and that other nations can merely lay their views before them), have now decided that the Bolsheviki may not come to the Peace Conference in Paris. The five great ones have, however, sent a message to the Soviet Government and to any others who are "exercising or attempting to exercise military control in Russia," inviting them each to send three representatives to the Princes Islands in the Sea of Marmora, where they will be met by representatives of the associated Powers, on the following conditions :-

"Provided in the meantime there is a truce of arms amongst the parties invited, and that all armed forces anywhere sent or directed against any people or territory outside the boundaries of European Russia as they stood before the war, or against Finland, or against any people or territory whose autonomous action is in contemplation in the fourteen articles upon which the present peace negotiations are based, shall be meanwhile withdrawn and aggressive military action cease."

We can understand that from the capitalist standpoint, the arrival of the Bolsheviki in Paris would create too much excitement, give rise to too much propaganda, call forth too many expressions of love and reverence from the workers there. But why should the meeting be in a far-off island in the distant sea of Marmora; why should it be in such a fantastically isolated spot? Bold British and French capitalists, does it become you to show yourselves so much afraid of those poor Bolsheviki?

Apart from the place of meeting, the proposal seems to us most unsatisfactory. The Bolsheviki represent 90 per cent of the people of Russia: they are offered three delegates. The reactionaries represent 10 per cent of the people, and every one of the various reactionary groups into which they are divided is offered three delegates. Moreover, the Allies declare that they do not wish to interfere in the internal affairs of Russia. Why, then, are their troops fighting there? Why, then, call this far-away conference at all?

The Soviet government does not reject the conference proposal, but it refuses to be a party to secret treaties or secret conferences. It considers Princes Island too far away; such a meeting place would either surround the conference with "impenetrable mystery or create a fictitious publicity." It would leave the choice of the persons taking part in the conference entirely to the Allied Powers. The Soviet Government desires the opportunity to set forth its views and wishes on the Russian situation and would welcome the decision of the Allied Powers to enable it to do so. Tchicherine, who sends the telegram, says that where foreigners do not foment trouble in Russia tranquility is complete; where the power of the Soviets is established peace reigns and civil war is non-existent. But where foreign bayonets maintain the domination of the reactionary groups civil war is inevitable. If the Allied Powers desire peace they must stop all foreign intervention. That is the only thing the Soviets desire. Says Tchicherine :—

"To stop the struggle against the reactionaries and monarchists is impossible. The offer of good offices with a view to proceeding to arbitration is a strange one coming from Governments which are participating in the struggle against us, and are occupying parts of our territory with their armies."

Tchicherine adds that the Red Army is not defeated, but victorious. The Allied Powers' proposals that hostilities shall cease, as a condition of the conference was not made when the Soviet Army was in serious difficulties. Now the power of Krasnov is crumbling, if the Allies withdraw their aid his defeat is certain. The capital of Doutov has been captured; the workers' and peasants' revolt against the Siberian reactionaries increases from day to day, and the position of the other reactionary groups was shaken when the Czecho-Slovak soldiers left them.

Le Populaire, from which we take our account of Tchicherine's reply, complains that the text of his wireless message has been mutilated.

For our part, we regard the proposal as a sign that the Bolsheviki are more firmly entrenched politically, and more efficiently equipped militarily than those who are attacking them anticipated, and that the task of "saving Russia" from the Soviets by force of arms is proving so difficult that it is thought best to try what can be done by other methods.

The Peace Conference and the League of Nations.

The Peace Conference has resolved to set up what will be called a League of Nations, but will be, in fact, a League consisting of delegates from the Governments of Britain, America, France, Italy, and Japan, with some minor representation for other nations. The following commissions are being appointed :—

1. *Breaches of Laws of War.* Two representatives each for the five Great Powers (ten in all), and five representatives elected jointly by the other Powers.

2. *Reparation.* Three representatives from each of the five Great Powers, two representatives each from Belgium, Greece, Poland, Roumania, Serbia, *i.e.*, fifteen representatives from the great belligerent victors, and ten representatives from the devastated small nations!

3. *International Labour Legislation.*—Two representatives each from the five Great Powers, five elected jointly by all the other Powers at the Peace Conference, *i.e.*, fifteen persons, 10 representing the five great ones and five all the other nations.

4. *Waterways and Railways.*—Two representatives from each of the five Great Powers, five jointly elected by all the other Powers.

The small nations protested that they were being unjustly treated. Belgium especially was deeply aggrieved, but M. Clemenceau virtually told them that the great victorious Powers were in a position to dictate and that the other nations were represented there on sufferance; either they must assent to what had been decided by the five great ones, or have no part in a League of Nations.

President Wilson's point 14 says :—

"A further association of nations must be formed under specified covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike."

He further says :—

"The impartial justice meted out must involve no discrimination between those to whom we wish to be just and those to whom we do not wish to be just. It must be a justice that knows no favourites and knows no standards but the equal rights of the several peoples concerned.

"There can be no leagues or alliances or special covenants and understandings within the general and common family of the League of Nations."

The Peace Conference and the German Colonies.

At the Peace Conference there appears to be no question of returning the German colonies or consulting the native inhabitants as to their disposal or form of government. Questions at issue are which parts of them shall go to Britain, Australia, France, America, and Japan. President Wilson's point 5 demands :—

"A free, open-minded and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty, the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined."

Point 1 was violated when the Peace Conference was made semi-secret. Point 5 is now torn up.

So the Wilson points are violated, but we hear of no protest from him. So ends the war for freedom as waged by Capitalist Powers. Through Socialism alone can we secure a people's peace. And yet that blind and foolish body, the official Belgium Socialist Party, again declared that it will not join the International Socialist-Labour Conference because German delegates will be there!

Rosa Luxemburg's Message.

In Germany election results, though of course far in advance of those recorded here, are by no means inspiring, but the movement for immediate socialism still lives and grows. In her last article in *The Red Flag* Rosa Luxemburg wrote :

"'Order reigns in Berlin,'—You stupid hangmen! Your 'order' is built on sand. The revolution will declare itself to-morrow, 'rising and rattling its chains,' and to your terror, cry with a trumpet-call 'I was, I am, I shall be.'"

The Spartacists are evidently still active and the struggle for workers' control of industry is pressing forward. A great strike of miners is in progress and attempts are being made to socialise the mines by direct action.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

LONDON'S PART.

The "Little Village" has not yet made up its mind. The whole dock area has struck now, the transport workers want 44 hours, the tube railwaymen are restive. It is true Clement Talbots have resumed work, but many points were gained and their fighting spirit is unimpaired.

Trouble is rife over the application of the 47-hour week and negotiations have been broken off in view of which the London District Committee of the A.S.E. decided to consult the shop stewards in the district, and a big meeting was held at the Manor Place Baths, Walworth, on Sunday, January 26th. A resolution was submitted to the effect that we line up with the Clyde workers, and declare a strike from Tuesday, January 28th, and that steps be taken to set up a National Strike Committee that would embrace the activities of all workers. After a very good discussion the resolution was rejected in favour of an amendment instructing the District Committee to convene mass meetings throughout the district with a view to getting the opinion of the rank and file.

On Monday, January 27th, there was a mass meeting of all shop stewards, regardless of union, craft, or sex, convened by the London and District Council of Shop Stewards and Workers' Committees, and held at the Aldwych Labour Exchange, Tavistock Street, W.C. Unfortunately, the weather was against a big meeting, in spite of which however there was a fair attendance. On the hours question in relation to the Great Strike Movement the following, after some discussion, was decided upon: (1) That we adopt the programme put forward by the Clyde workers. (2) That N.A.C. of the S.S. and W.C. be urged to meet at once to formulate a national programme acceptable to all sections. (3) That a London Conference of all shop stewards be convened at the earliest possible moment. (4) That delegates be asked to bring a definite mandate for or against a down tools policy.

This Conference will in all probability be held on Saturday, February 1st, 3 P.M., and all workers will be notified of the place of meeting.

The London workers have a glorious opportunity if they will only seize it. Let them get together at once and form a London Strike Committee. Let that Committee convene a National Conference from which a National Strike Committee should be drawn. Then from the melting pot of the various demands a uniform programme acceptable to all sections can be moulded, and, given the requisite determination, given effect to.

W. F. WATSON.

W.S.F. SOCIAL WORK.—The Mothers' Arms Day Nursery, 438, Old Ford Road, E. Cost Price Restaurant, &c., 20, Railway Street, Poplar. Parcels to Miss Lucy Burgis, 400, Old Ford Road; donations to N. L. Smyth, 400, Old Ford Road, E.

PORT OF LONDON STRIKE (continued).

been diverting work from the Clyde to the Port of London. But Bradley still persisted: "To strike to-morrow would be suicidal: *we* have looked at the matter from a national standpoint." Then he urged that labourers would not be able to stand the economic distress consequent upon a strike, and the strike would not be over in two, three, or four weeks; it might last six months, and if it should, the workers must bear the sacrifice; should they give in, should they return to work beaten, they would afterwards suffer bitterly from the reaction. Now for a time he held his hearers; they knew, only too vividly, what a long strike means. But again there was uproar and a volley of questions. "Seeing that the Joint Standing Committee put in for a 15*s.* increase why didn't it initiate a ballot vote from last Sunday?" "Can you say when the ballot vote is likely to be taken?" "Are they going round the Clyde and other ports making speeches like these?"

Harry Pollitt, the Organiser of the River Thames Shop Stewards' Committee, replied to the speeches of the official element, strongly urging the strike. "You are like men in the boxing ring who have stripped for the fight; either you must let the trainer put on the gloves or get out, and say that you were only kidding. If you are men, there is only one way you can go about this business: that is by carrying out what you decided on two weeks ago." It was strange, he said, that the Joint Standing Committee should ask for a ballot now; they had never asked for a ballot when the miserable awards of the Committee on Production had been accepted during the last few years. The taking of a ballot would not make the strike official, because the trade union executives would not recognise the committee which would take the ballot. Moreover, it was too late to come here now asking for a ballot; that should have been done three months ago. It would take six months to secure the ballot, for all the unions concerned met on different nights, and all had different rules—and, meanwhile, the whole country was in a ferment; it was better to act now in conjunction with the comrades on the Clyde and Humber and in Bristol. The machinery of the employers acted quickly; success for the workers depended on acting with equal speed. The workers had now the asset of a solidarity which they had never possessed before; to-day every highly skilled mechanic was prepared to say to his assistant: "We are as one." The whole country was seething with discontent; the workers had been told that the wonderful after-war construction would make for them a happy and merry England, but they were beginning to realise that, unless they themselves took action, England for them would be darker and uglier than before. It were better to come out and fight and go back beaten than never to have fought at all!

As for Bradley's argument that shipbuilding and repairing would be taken from the Port, where would the employers take it? They could not go to Liverpool, because Pollitt had seen the delegate of the Shop Stewards there; they could not go to the Clyde, to the North-East Coast, or to the South, for the workers were formulating demands at least as high as those of London in all those ports. The employers could not take the work to America, for wages were still higher there; they could not go to France, for France was in a ferment; they could not go to Holland, for there the material was lacking and British workers would refuse to take it over. Not a man in that hall, Pollitt said, but tried to imagine a state of society in which his children would not be forced to toil and pinch as he had done. The history of the working class is a history of sacrifice; the workers had had to tighten their belts, and strive and suffer for every improvement. If they were not prepared to do so now, they would make no further progress; let them then go home and hang their heads in shame. But, if they did so, he would not call them cowards; he would but hate, still more, the capitalist system that had bred their fear.

If the workers downed tools he was confident that though there might be chaos on Monday, by Wednesday everything would be in order. The shop stewards had all their machinery in readiness; by 8 o'clock to-morrow morning there would be pickets in all the yards. For four years men had gone "over the top" for something that was of no use to them. Let them fight now to improve their conditions. The example of the workers in the Port of London would inspire others to follow, and so they would go on together building the city of the future.

The cheering broke out now, full and round and vigorous, a very roar of it; no one need doubt how the voting would go.

Jack Tanner of *Solidarity* spoke briefly. "I don't work in the docks at the present time," he said, "and I don't think *you* will next week." The class war was entering on a new and, he hoped, a final phase—this was no time for peace.

Day, the Shop Stewards' Secretary, with a confident note, explained that the machinery for the strike was all in readiness. Someone asked whether any strike pay that might be received would be pooled and divided equally between mechanics and labourers. The Chairman replied: "We'll consider it."

A resolution to down tools as decided two weeks ago was formally moved and seconded by Sorrel and Hancock. An amendment to defer action for a month, in order that a ballot might be taken, was moved by Shepherd of the shipwrights and Bamble of the A.S.E. Shepheard declared that he approved the strike but wanted to secure unanimity. But, anticipating the defeat of his amendment, he said: "I shall be with you to-morrow."

Amid great excitement the vote was taken. In the dimly-lit, crowded theatre at first not a hand seemed to be raised for the amendment, but the tellers discovered two in the gallery, eight somewhere else, a few here, a few there—61 hands in all. Then hands up for the resolution: too many hands to be counted; as far as one can see almost everyone is voting, even the orchestra is voting, one member holds up his violin, another his bow. The Chairman announces that the meeting is practically unanimous. "Cheers for Pollitt." "Cheers for the Shop Stewards' Movement."

Freeman, the Secretary of the Joint Standing Committee, speaks laconically: "I have noted the vote you have given. The Joint Standing Committee meets to-morrow at 3 o'clock. I hope we shall have very fine weather."

"That means he is opposed to the strike," someone says. Putnam says: "You have turned our suggestion down. That does not mean we have turned you down. Your solid vote will strengthen the action of the Joint Standing Committee."

It is a curious position. The Shop Stewards' Movement has grown so strong that the old officials are forced into co-operating with it, and the Shop Stewards have secured the defeat of the official recommendation. But officialdom still holds the power to refuse strike pay, nay, more, the rules in some instances prevent the Executive issuing to the workers their own funds in strike pay unless the Executive itself actually called the strike. Jack Husbands of the Boilermakers', explains that the Committee of his Union is prevented by its rules from issuing strike pay in this dispute, but the General Secretary has been convinced of the necessity of altering the rules to suit the members. The rules are registered with the Registrar General; an alteration entails an enormous amount of trouble. Capitalist Governments knew what they were about when they made it the law that trade union rules should be regulated by them! Husbands says he has just spent the hardest two years of his life in going before Arbitration Boards and Committees on Production. In 1911 the workers in his union struck work. The Executive refused strike pay, but the dispute was won! Andrews, of the Painters, announces that his union, a small one unfortunately, will issue strike pay. Holmwood, staff foreman of electricians, has decided to hand in his notice in support of the strike. "That is the sort of action we want," says the Chairman.

Everyone is in tremendous spirits. Calls are given for a speech by THE DREADNOUGHT representative. The Chairman says: "We have got to be out of this hall by one o'clock; it is now five minutes past." "Oh, let it go on then," someone calls; so a vote is taken and THE DREADNOUGHT representative invited to speak for five minutes. Then Miss Stagg plays 'The Red Flag.' The meeting ends and now the strike begins.

WORK STOPS.

The strike was timed to begin at eight o'clock on Monday, and, in spite of Pollitt's warning that the struggle might begin in chaos and remain chaotic until Wednesday, everything went like well-oiled machinery from the start. The men solidly abstained from work. At the Hippodrome meeting many voices had been heard eagerly asking: "What shall we do about the tools?" and Pollitt had replied that the workers should go into the dock and fetch their tools and gear at eight o'clock next morning. "*Their* tools," he said, but under the present system the tools are supposed to belong to the employers, not to the workers; the workers own but few personal tools. Nevertheless, last Monday morning, as in other strikes, the workers presented themselves to collect the tools that were not considered theirs, and to stow them carefully away in the lockers. Does the capitalist realise the respect of the workers for the tools they wield? Consciously, or unconsciously, the workers feel that the tools are theirs by right of use. Some day their right will be unchallenged.

Some who remember other strikes in the London docks predicted conflicts on Monday between the strikers and men anxious to blackleg, but all went quietly, a remakable example of the efficiency of rank and file methods of organisation. Many River Thames shop stewards were themselves surprised at their success.

THE DOCKERS.

The yards seemed very still and deserted, but the port was not altogether idle for the dockers were not on strike, though their work will be largely brought to a standstill since no ships are being repaired. Moreover, striking is infectious!

At one of the dingy little dock restaurants we were surprised to find the majority of dockers taking a meal there to be soldiers, their khaki uniform, always ugly, looking most hideously cumbrous and uncouth, all crumbled, stretched, and work-stained. A few soldiers were wearing white painters' coats over the uniform; many had slung an old sack about them to protect it. The soldiers are marched in military style to work in the docks and back to their billets.

The soldiers are a source of friction in the dock, for the men working beside them feel their presence to be a menace. If there is any dispute; if, for instance, a ship has to be unloaded on which there are old bones or other decaying substance, and the dockers demand extra pay for the work, the soldiers can always be brought to take the job from their hands.

Though the dockers are at work the women ship workers have joined the strike.

It is a dark morning, foggy and frosty. The workers, looking pinched and cold and standing in the streets or by the dock gates, as though they hardly knew what to do with their unaccustomed leisure, have entered upon a desperate struggle. It is another stage in the old war of the oppressed against the oppressor. When will the workers enlarge their demands to take in something bigger and more permanent than a 15*s.* increase, which the profiteers will promptly endeavour to take from them by a further increase in prices? When will the workers come to close grips in the struggle to overthrow the capitalist system?

If you are on strike, you will have time to sell THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT!

ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.

IF THE BOLSHEVIKI WERE DEFEATED.

BY A RUSSIAN WHO FOUGHT IN THE REVOLUTION OF 1905.

COMRADES,—At the present time, when the capitalists of the whole world have united with the sole object of destroying by military violence the Russian Socialist Republics of workers and peasants, it is the duty of intelligent English people to make known the true situation, and to prevent the English workers from being the hangmen of their fellow-workers in Russia, who have freed themselves from the capitalist yoke.

I took part in the revolutionary movements in Russia from 1905 to 1908. I went through those terrible periods when the Tzarism and its servants organised the counter-revolution, to destroy the movement for freedom. After this colossal movement had been suppressed by fire and sword, the White Terror began. The Court Martials worked day and night. The gallows were erected with feverish haste. The prisons and fortresses were overcrowded with hundreds of thousands of people. Tens of thousands were sent to Siberia without trial, and tens of thousands were sent there to do hard labour.

During six months of Field Punishment alone, thousands were hung. The military force, called the punitive expedition, which was sent to the Baltic Provinces to punish the peoples there, murdered and burned right and left. Bloody pogroms were made on innocent Jews, in which thousands were killed; espionage poisoned the whole of Russia; death manifested itself in a thousand forms. All Russia became like one huge prison sown with gallows, where the flower of her children were put to death. *The reaction triumphed, and order was established in Russia!*

Ten years have passed. The spilt blood has fallen on fruitful ground. A mighty movement has grown in Russia. The revolution has triumphed. Russia has become free.

To avoid the great mistake made by their European brothers when they tried to free themselves, the Russian workers expelled their oppressors, the demagogues, the politicians, and the solicitors, who had so cleverly and cunningly enslaved the people for their own petty material interests. The Russian workers regarded their brothers in Europe and America. What had they won, after a century of constitutional, republican, and political freedom? Wage slavery, unemployment, terrible ignorance, war, and a corrupted press, which is owned by a few financiers, lords, and politicians, who poison the spiritual life of the people, and inflame men against each other, to make war, for the benefit of the capitalists. The Russian workers have come to the conclusion that they will have no compromise with Capitalism, the foundation of which is the exploitation and enslaving of the people. They insist that the people must be their own masters, and command their own destinies, and that real political freedom cannot exist without economic equality. They have therefore decided that the land must belong to the peasants, and the factories to the industrial workers.

The governments of Europe and America, which represent the capitalists and landlords, see a great danger in the Socialist Republics of Russia.

We can imagine what terrible results will await Russia if the Allies triumph by military force and establish a government of Koltchaks, Semyonoffs, Kockovtseffs, and Sazonoffs. Coercion, death sentences, pogroms, imprisonment, exile, and espionage will live again. Death and destruction will be the highest law. The reactionists will take their revenge, and "order" will again be established. And not only in Russia, everywhere the reaction will spread, the darkest period in history will be recalled.

The workers of all countries must unite in order to fight against the Allied Military Expeditions in Russia.

Capitalism is the enemy of all nations. It shows itself in its true hideousness only when the slaves dare to rebel. The French workers must remember the year 1871 when the Paris Commune was suppressed and the bourgeoisie took bloody revenge, because the people of Paris wanted to establish economic equality.

The capitalists sometimes give way when the workers ask for a few pence more on their wage but they fight against the danger of losing any of their privileges. The time has come when the worker must be ready for great social changes. A great sun is rising in the East, which will spread its rays over the whole world. A new civilisation is dawning, whose principles are Freedom, Equality and Peace.

WORKSHOP NOTES.

BARROW-IN-FURNESS.

The two things of outstanding importance engaging the attention of the Barrow engineering workers at the present moment are (1) the shorter hour question; (2) the non-unionist element in the workshop. The first the Barrow men are wholeheartedly in favour of tackling in vigorous fashion, but they deeply deplore the tendency to spasmodic action which prevails. They recognise at the same time, however, the difficulties inheren in the situation, particularly the fact that the machinery available for dealing with the situation, is in the hands of those people who are responsible for the existing confusion. I refer to those people who in their collectivity constitute a distinct social division, necessary and essential to the continued existence of Capitalism, namely, permanent trade union officials.

The Barrow men have therefore arrived at the conclusion that the various forces at work upon this issue should be collected, concentrated and directed through the medium of a national conference. Such a conference is to be held in Barrow upon Friday, January 31st.

The second question arises as a result of the carrying out of a duty imposed upon local stewards. Once a quarter all cards are inspected. Should a "fit and proper person" not possess one, the steward wants to know why. One individual failed to foot the bill, and when requested, politely, to join up, he refused and was somewhat pugnacious in his manner. Whereupon, he was more vigorously told to "get in" or "get out." He still declined. Refused to do either. Said "he would shoot the convenor and the whole bloody crowd of stewards—if he had a gun." It was a pity to see such magnificent courage misplaced. The stewards, however, had to apply the iron rule, which does not permit of sentiment—get inside of a union or outside the shop. They gave him a further opportunity, before going to the management of Messrs. Vickers with an ultimatum; either he had to go, or the whole of the men went out of the shop. He finished that day.

This incident has awakened interest in the menace of the non-unionist. J. W. DEAKIN.

NEW TACTICS ON THE CLYDE.

Clyde workers who struck for a 40 hour week on January 27, declare that they will pay neither house rent, nor income tax, till their strike is won!

UNHAPPY PLIGHT OF KNOCKALOE PRISONERS.

In the internment camps of this country are all sorts of victims: Austrians, Germans, Russians, Americans, and even persons of British nationality whose political activities have been considered dangerous by the Government.

At Knockaloe Camp in the Isle of Man the prisoners have long suffered from damp and cold, bad food and especially from lack of fat, for which they have a constant craving, so that they have even fried their food in vaseline, cod liver oil, sewing machine oil, and so on, which they are able to buy at the canteen. The poor fellows who have no money cannot even obtain such doubtful luxuries as these! Some of the prisoners in the Isle of Man have even eaten cats and dogs.

Salt herrings form an important part of the official menu, but the prisoners complain that as they are always so bad they are compelled to throw them straight into the dust pail.

Poor prisoners who have become practically British and have severed all connection with other countries suffer most, for since February, 1918, prisoners have only been allowed to receive parcels from neutral or enemy countries. Moreover, favoured prisoners are permitted to go to Douglas Camp instead of to Knockaloe. Douglas Camp was a boy's camp before the war; it is situated on high ground with a fine prospect, but prisoners in Douglas Camp must pay for their keep. Knockaloe Camp lies in a swamp, surrounded by mountains. In spite of the damp, the coal ration is 1 cwt. in ten days for a stove which serves 30 men. There are 3 stoves and 90 men in each hut.

The following letter from a prisoner throws some light on the hardships, describes from the inside some of the unnecessary and grievous hardships to which the prisoners are subjected:—

A Prisoner's Letter.

"We cannot receive any more hot water in the evening on account of the coal shortage. Can you imagine what that means! For some people who have got nothing to eat, a cup of coffee in the evening between 6 and 7 o'clock meant a supper. No proper meals during the day, no coals extra, allowed to cook our own green stuff cultivated on our allotments, no hot water for bathing, except, perchance, one day in the week (poor devils who cannot stand the cold water), no more boiled water for tea or coffee in the evening. How we treat our prisoners. Good Lord! Yes, no proper meals.

"I told you in a letter I upset my stomach through eating something bad. That bully beef what they have given us lately is simply rotten. Absolutely uneatable. I had too great a hunger on Monday, otherwise I would not have touched it. No dinner on Tuesday (meatless day) and no dinner on Monday. I left that beastly meat till 5 o'clock, but then I ate it, for all the others had eaten theirs. Three o'clock midnight I was as bad as bad could be. Sick and stomach ache all through the night and the whole of Tuesday, and I have got a good stomach. Anybody else may not have stood it. Yes, that is the food we get.

"You ask about the ration list. Oh, yes, we do get *full weights*, but not *full quantities*. You should hear how the kitchen managers swear. Food often comes in wet and foul. Potatoes, meat, everything else more or less the same. When we complain, investigation is made and our complaint disapproved, unless Swiss Legation delegates are coming or have been here.

"And so it is with everything else, and we put up with it, because we know it is of no use to complain. We meet with no success. A new doctor came for inspection (the old one is on holiday). He went into the kitchen and passed the ration list. He read it through, and then asked the storekeeper if sugar and vinegar is sufficient for our needs. The storekeeper replied, it was not. The doctor: "Yes, yes, I understand.' He reported: 'P.O.W. could do with more sugar, vinegar, salt, &c.' What happened? The sub-commandant sent a warning that if the storekeeper should lodge another complaint to the doctor except by letter *via* Commandant, he would be punished with 14 days' imprisonment."

This prisoner also sends the official ration list:—

MARCH 18TH, 1918.

Bread	5 ozs.
Biscuits	3 "
Flour	½ "
Meat, fresh or frozen (on 5 days)	4 "
Meat, preserved (on 5 days)	3 "
Salt herrings (on 2 days a week)	1½ "
Edible fat	½ "
Tea or coffee	½ "
Sugar	1 "
Salt	½ "
Pepper (black)	½ "
Oatmeal	4 "
Syrup or jam	1 "
Split peas, beans or rice	1 "
* Potatoes	20 "
Fresh vegetables or fruit	4 "

* Thirteen ozs. of potatoes were deducted, and 9 ozs. of bread added about two weeks before.

We have got remarkable big canteen lists but—most of the articles are "coming in."

More than all the prisoners feel the confinement and separation from their families. When friends take the journey to the Isle of Man to visit them they are only allowed three visits of half an hour each in the presence of the officials.

The poorest prisoners at Knockaloe are permitted to work on the roads, and are paid at the rate of 3*d*. a day. Men who do not need the money bribe their warders to allow them to work outside in order to be away from the camp for a few hours.

THE WHELDON-MASON CASE.

Our congratulations to Winnie and Alfred Mason who have been released after nearly two years' imprisonment. They were sentenced to five and seven years' penal servitude. Mrs. Wheeldon, sentenced to ten years in February, 1917, was released after a hunger strike in December, 1917.

WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

For Revolutionary International Socialism, the ending of Capitalism and Parliaments, and the substitution of a World Federation of Workers' Industrial Republics.

Membership open to all Men and Women. Subscription 4d. per month, 4s. per annum.
Write to the Secretary, 400 Old Ford Road, London, E.3.

LONDON MEETINGS.

OUT DOOR.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 31st.
"Custom House."—11.30 A.M., Miss Price.
SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 1st.
Poplar and Canning Town.—Meet at 11 A.M. and 2.30 P.M. at 20, Railway Street. Speakers: Miss Price, Mrs. Walker, John Blythe, and others.
SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 2nd.
Osborn Street, Whitechapel.—11.45 A.M., Miss Price.
Dock Gates, Poplar.—11.45 A.M., Mrs. Walker.
TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 4th.
Piggott Street, Poplar.—11.30 A.M., Miss Price.
FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 7th.
Queen's Crescent, Kentish Town.—5.30 P.M., Miss Price.

INDOOR.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 3rd.
44, Malden Road, St. Pancras W.S.F.—2.30 P.M., Business Meeting.
SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 9th.
20, Railway Street, Poplar W.S.F.—7 P.M., Arnold Lupton, 'Old Slavery and New Governments.' Discussion.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 3rd.
Glasgow Communist Group Meeting, Grand St. Mungo Hall, Glasgow.—8 P.M., To welcome Guy Aldred.
TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 4th.
Walthamstow League of Rights, William Morris Hall, Somers Road.—2.30 P.M., Mrs. Butler. Chair: Miss Horsfall.

Announcements of meetings inserted in this column one line free and a penny a word after.

COCKNEY FAIR INCOME.

	£	s.	d.
Tickets	53	6	5½
„ Nursery	13	11	8½
Donations	25	0	9
„ Nursery	1	11	7
Sale of Clothes	6	5	0
Refreshments	25	0	0
Christmas Present Stall	23	3	0
Mothers' Arms Stall	19	9	0
Literature Stall	16	11	9½
Grocery and Sweet Stall	14	3	11½
Toy Stall	12	16	5½
Tobacco Stall	8	3	2½
Antiques (profit)	5	19	0
Fancy Goods Stall	5	13	8
Remnant Stall	5	10	0
Christmas Tree	3	16	2
Flower Stall	3	0	3¾
Brush Stall	2	0	0
Greengrocery Stall	1	11	0
Raffles	4	17	0
Palmists	1	19	3
Games	0	17	9½
Art Exhibition	0	9	6¾
Programmes	1	7	6
„ Advertisements	3	0	0
Pamphlets	0	15	3½
Milk Box	0	6	6
Churn	2	1	2½
	£265	7	2½

COCKNEY FAIR EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.
Hire of Hall	30	12	0
Postage	6	10	11
Posters, Bills, and Tickets	20	8	6
Programmes	6	3	0
Blocks	1	1	3
Tobacco	7	14	8
Hire of China	2	11	6
Advertisements	2	11	0
Battens	3	3	0
Fire-proofing	1	10	0
Attendant and Artists' Expenses	1	15	4
Materials	2	3	6
Tablecloths	1	2	0
Tax stamps	8	0	0
Literature	0	18	9
Cartage	2	11	0
Sundries and Petty Cash	1	19	0
	£100	15	5

GENERAL FUND.—COLLECTION: Poplar W.S.F., 13*s.* 6*d.*
SOCIAL WORK.—Miss Ethel M. Morgan, £3; Mrs. M. J. Handley, £2; Misses Gulland, £1 15*s.*; COLLECTIONS: Misses E. Lagsding and J. Watts, Green's Yard, 15*s.* 7½*d.*

ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.
TIGHT BINDING.

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

Classified advertisements one penny per word. Displayed advertisements 7s. 6d. per inch. Pre-pay and send to Manager, "Workers' Dreadnought," 152 Fleet Street.

FAMILY LIMITATION DOCTRINE. Post free, 1½d. —Malthusian League, 48, Broadway, Westminster.

AGENTS WANTED FOR THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT.'—Are you a regular reader of the paper? Do you sell it at the meetings of your organisation? Introduce it to your workshop.

VOTE FOR THE CHILDREN'S BIRTHRIGHT.—15s. a week to every child in our midst as proudly welcomed citizens till they reach the age of 21 years, and £1 a week for everyone at 60.
MacKenzie-Kennedy Advert.

SOCIALISTS OF CROYDON, Your First New Year's Resolution for 1919 should be to send 2/- (½d. stamps) for 24 weeks prepaid subscription to Croydon's Own Socialist Weekly, THE EPISTLE. Offices, 112 Woodville Road, Thornton Heath.

EDWARD SOERMUS, the "Russian Violinist," has several open dates, "week nights," in January and February. No Sundays available. March dates all booked. Free from April 1st onwards. Apply to Harry Morris, 10 Fairview Terrace, Merthyr.

THE ORPHEUM CINEMATOGRAPH THEATRE
CROYDON.
Good Films. Good Music. Comfortably Heated Clean. Well Ventilated.
LILLIAN SCOTT TROY, Managing Director.
(Hon. Member D.W.R. & G.L. Union).
Tel. Croydon 1297.

LEANEY'S LTD.,
WHOLESALE NEWSAGENTS.
City Agent for the Workers' Dreadnought
9 and 10, ST. BRIDE'S AVENUE, E.C.4.
(Late City and Suburban Publishing Co.).

Phone: Central 3820 TOYE & Co. Established 1858
[illegible]7 Theobalds Road, London, W.C.
Sole Manufacturers of
Banners and Flags for Demonstrations.
Metal and Enamelled Badges for all Societies.
Medals, Celluloid and Buttons.
Flags for Charity Collection Days.
Write for CATALOGUE, DESIGN & QUOTATION

LABOUR'S AWAKENING IN INDIA.

THE NUCLEUS OF A WORKER'S FEDERATION.

New India for December 17th, 1917, in its leading article under the heading 'Victory for Labour,' gives an account of the success of a recent strike of 9,000 mill hands, and the journal adds: "Labour has thus gained a splendid victory, and we offer our heartiest congratulations to all who worked for the cause."

The telegraphic news from India on January 21st ran thus:—

LARGEST INDIAN STRIKE.
100,000 BOMBAY MILL HANDS OUT.

(*From our own Correspondent.*)

Bombay, January 9th, 1919.

(Rd. yesterday per Eastern Tele. Co.)

The largest strike in the mill or any other industry in India began at Bombay City to-day, when the mill hands went out demanding an increase of the bonus recently granted. The trouble began last month at a mill, and the employees there have been able peacefully, and otherwise, to secure the support of practically all the mills in the island [of Bombay], with the result that nearly 100,000 hands are now out. Slight instances of hooliganism are reported, but the situation on the whole is quiet. The police held an informal meeting to-day with the Mill Owners' Association. The shops are open in the area concerned and there are no signs of panic, nor have armed police or troops been called out.

Bombay, January 11th.—After a great gathering of mill hands the crowd moved off with the object of forcing several mills to cease work. The police while barring the road came into conflict with the strikers, and it is reported that twenty policemen were injured. *The military are now* reinforcing the police."—Reuter.

From *The Times*, January 21st, 1919.

STRIKERS FIRED ON.

Bombay, January 15th, 1919.

The cotton mills re-opened. Only a few men returned. Strikers appeared to be in a more truculent mood. Crowds gathered. Threw stones on mills. Military fired, wounding one striker.

Ten thousand (more) employees of the Cloth market have also struck for higher pay.

An Exchange message says that troops of the South Staffordshire Regiment were called on to reinforce the police.

From *Daily News*, January 22nd, 1919.

More recent news tells of armoured cars being used against the strikers.

Another fact worth noting is that for the first time in the history of the Indian National Congress there were present special *delegates of peasants* sent by the "Peasants' Conference," the Indian Soviet. For the benefit of these peasants and workers many of the speeches in the Congress were delivered in Indian vernaculars, Hindi, or Urdu. *The New India* says: "We learn that the *sabha* (Soviet) has already secured the names of about four hundred tenant (peasant) delegates to the Delhi Congress."

Amidst great difficulties workers and peasants' unions are being formed in India. There has already been established the "Madras Labour Union." There is in the United Provinces a *kisan sabha* (peasants' soviet). We have just received news of "Teachers' Guilds." This indicates that unions of all sorts of workers are being gradually formed in India. Indian *intelligentia* is solely responsible for the creation of such institutions, with a view to organise Indian workers and peasants to make a common cause with the workers all over the world. Let the workers of Europe extend their assistance to the workers of India.

Happily there is no clash of interests between the *intelligentia*, the "educated" Indians or the Home Rulers and the masses of India. They all suffer under the alien bureaucracy. The Indian Congress is prepared to do all it can to alleviate the position of the masses—the workers and peasants. Therefore let there not be any misunderstanding regarding the Congress or the Indian Home Rule movement.

AN INDIAN CORRESPONDENT.

"HANDS OFF RUSSIA."

DEMONSTRATION

Victoria Park, Sunday, February 9th,

3 p.m.

SPEAKERS—E. C. FAIRCHILD, SYLVIA PANKHURST, JOHN ARNALL, JACK TANNER, W. F. WATSON, A. A. WATTS, FRED STURGE, JESSIE STEPHENS, G. E. SAUNDERS. Further List next week.

MAKE A NOTE. BE THERE!

POPLAR STUDY CIRCLE.—A weekly Study Circle will be held at 20, Railway Street (Poplar W.S.F.), by Mr. P. A. Edmunds who will deliver ten lectures on "Marxian Economics," beginning on Thursday, February 6, 8 p.m. Admission will be free, and members and friends who desire to attend lectures are asked to bring note books and pencils.

Printed by J. E. Francis, 11 and 12 Bream's Buildings, London, E.C.4, and Published by the Workers' Socialist Federation, at 152 Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.